

PEACE NEWS

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THREEPENCE

Don't give up talks on disarmament

NPC AND PPU WRITE TO DR. NERVO

A LETTER stressing the urgent need for the Great Powers to reach agreement on disarmament plans was sent last week to Dr. Luis P. Nervo, President of the UN Assembly by Leslie G. D. Smith on behalf of the National Peace Council.

Dr. Nervo was told in the letter that a "great wave of hope and thankfulness spread over this country" when it was announced that representatives of the four powers were going to meet to discuss privately their various proposals for disarmament under his chairmanship.

"I wish to send you the very best wishes possible for a successful outcome from these important discussions," Leslie Smith said.

"Make a public statement"

The letter continued:

"Unfortunately, ten days seem all too short for the vital purposes in mind. If, therefore, at the end of this time agreement has not been reached, we earnestly hope you will yourself accept responsibility for making a public statement explaining wherein lie the chief differences and difficulties, showing how these have been narrowed down in the course of the talks, and that you should further accept personal responsibility for taking the initiative in suggesting either an early resumption of the meetings on an extended basis, or whatever other procedure seems to you to offer the greatest hopes."

Peace Pledge Union's letter

A similar letter was sent by the Chairman and Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

They asked that, should it be impossible to secure a measure of agreement within the time limit set for the talks, Dr. Nervo "should insist on the importance of extending the time for reaching such an agreement, so that you might be able to continue your efforts until they reach a successful conclusion."

"We wish to assure you that the majority of people in this country would warmly welcome an agreement on Disarmament and that their hopes are anxiously fixed on the present meetings over which you preside."

U.S.A. too fearful to be polite to Russia

— PAUL CADBURY

PAUL S. CADBURY, one of the seven Quakers who visited Russia last July, told the story of their experiences to a packed audience at the Friends' Meeting House, Bristol, on Dec. 6.

The ordinary people of the Soviet Union knew very little about the West, he said, but the converse was also true. We, who did not fully realise what the scorched-earth policy had meant, had been slow to recognise the wonderful recovery Russia had made.

Their abundant and beautiful crops, their industrial and building recovery were features of their achievement that we should readily acknowledge.

How East sees the Iron Curtain

In their interview with Mr. Jacob Malik, the Deputy Foreign Secretary, the Friends had protested at the Russian propaganda against the West, but had admitted that anti-Soviet propaganda must also be reduced if there was to be a lessening of the tension.

There were things which, from the East, made it look as though we were hanging the Iron Curtain. Our refusal to grant visas had been much publicised and criticised over there.

Referring to a more recent visit to the USA, Paul Cadbury said that American fear of Russia was tremendously high. The more possessions we have, the more fearful we become. The Americans were too much afraid of Russia to be polite, and could only show her the mailed fist.

"Seek out action in the field of peace, and people will understand," he declared, adding that if Russia would put the sixteen wives in an aeroplane and send them to a British airfield, that would be an action that everyone would understand, and there would be no need of speeches. We must work for a final treaty in Austria, and the creation of a free, unarmed and really independent Germany, and do all we humanly can to bring about an end to the war in Korea.

Our patience would be tried again and again, but we believed the stakes were great—to avoid war.

RUSSIA'S 'NEWS' ON BRITISH PACIFISTS

THE Russian fortnightly magazine, News, published in English in Moscow, has printed extracts from a letter to the Editor drafted by Alex Comfort on behalf of the executive of the Peace Pledge Union.

The entire letter, which was sent above the signatures of Sybil Morrison, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, Stuart Morris, General Secretary, and Alex Comfort, member of the Executive, will be published in Peace News in two parts. The first appears this week on page six.

News devotes a page of comment to the letter, which in general takes the form of expressing approval of the statements in the portions of the letter that are published, while ignoring the more controversial portions that have not been published.

African chiefs wait in petrol-can houses

THOUGHT BRITAIN WOULD PUT JUSTICE FIRST

THE conflict between the South African Government and the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations Assembly grows sharper.

The Committee has now before it a resolution backed by eight States including the United States, Egypt and Denmark, and which will most likely be carried, appealing to the South African Government to reconsider the position and to submit reports on the administration of South-West Africa and to transmit petitions from the territory.

This follows the consideration last week of a letter from the South African Government to the President of the Assembly, Dr. Nervo, asking that the Assembly should review the action of the Trusteeship Committee, a request that he had rejected.

Michael Scott speaks—

Last Saturday, because "it has not yet been found physically possible for the African chiefs to appear before you" (what seems to have prevented them so far is not

a formal prohibition, but a number of niggling administrative obstacles) the Committee heard the Rev. Michael Scott in their absence.

It was one of the great obstacles to confidence between the races in South-West Africa, he said, that the tribes could only express themselves through members of the race whom they had come to regard as the oppressor, though the Africans numbered nine-tenths of the population.

—while the headmen wait

In the meantime the headmen of the tribes are awaiting the decision of the South African Government. They are staying in the native location outside Windhoek, and a Manchester Guardian correspondent describes this:

"The location is built mainly from empty petrol tins, battered flat and made into walls and roofs. Most of the shanties have wooden doors and one or two of the more stylish ones sport a kind of open veranda like the houses of the white people. The house where I saw the headmen was most unusual in having a white cement facing and a built veranda."

"Keep my name secret"—teacher

Something of the atmosphere that obtains in regard to relations with the tribes is indicated by the fact that the young schoolteacher who acted as interpreter when the pressmen interviewed the chiefs asked that his name might be kept secret.

"During the course of the protracted interview," says the correspondent, "it became evident that they were very much out of touch with their white rulers. They had not known, until a white girl had come to tell them, that they must make official application for passports. She was a South African, normally resident in England, who had been asked by the International Missionary Council to help them in this manner."

"They did not know, either, that the Rev. Michael Scott had been prohibited from entering the territory. They asked us why Britain had voted against the invitation to them. It was a thing they could not understand, for they very evidently looked on Britain as a father-protector."

"When we told them that it was because the way in which the invitation had been sent to them did not conform to the rules and regulations of the United Nations, they could not comprehend how a country such as Britain should consider a matter of form more important than a matter of justice."

What would Thomas Aquinas say today?

A CATHOLIC'S ANSWER

The "just war" problem

By MARY WILLIS

THE Roman Catholic attitude to war was expounded by a solicitor appearing on behalf of a conscientious objector at the London Appellate Tribunal on Monday.

The solicitor, Mr. Anderson, was appearing on behalf of John Downs, a librarian at the Courtauld Institute.

The Church, he said, taught that it was permissible to take part in a just war, and left each individual to decide for himself whether any particular war was just.

John Downs felt that of the seven requirements of a just war, as laid down by St. Thomas Aquinas, three were not fulfilled in modern war—the good achieved did not outweigh the harm, every possible means of negotiation was not tried before going to war, and modern methods of waging war, in particular mass bombing, were not legitimate. This appeal was allowed.

"Prove why I should kill"

Robert Armstrong, who had taken a degree at Nottingham University, and was working as a clerk pending the tribunal's decision, when asked why he was not prepared to fight, said that he felt that the

onus was on other people to produce reasons why he should kill, not for him to give reasons why he should not do so. The Chairman's reply was to tell him that there was such a thing as justifiable homicide—e.g., the action of the hangman—and excusable homicide, i.e., in self-defence. Robert Armstrong was not granted exemption.

Alexander Bell, who attends Uxbridge Friends' Meeting, said that since he began to do so, three years ago, he had developed a conscientious objection to military service, and felt that he could not continue his present work in electrical engineering, because in the event of large-scale rearmament he would be involved in war work.

He was closely questioned as to why he had not yet joined the Society of Friends, but Arthur Jessop, Clerk of the Elders of his meeting, explained that young attendees were not usually encouraged to join before they had faced their tribunal, in case membership should weigh unduly in their favour. Bell was granted conditional exemption.

Frank Blackhall, a teacher at Galveston Hall (a school run by an Anglican community in Surrey), and a member of the Church of England, said:

"My objection extends to the whole range of military service, because I believe it is just not God's way of dealing with sin in the world. Whatever sin, or forces of evil, I come up against, the way to overcome them is in the same way as Jesus overcame them—by suffering, not by waging war." His appeal was allowed.

Back to prison again

Two COs who had been sent to prison after refusing medical examination had their appeals rejected by the Tribunal. They will therefore spend Christmas in prison.

The first, Charles Todd, was a minister for Jehovah's Witnesses, who said he had been preaching since he was nine years old. The second, Michael Webster, was a pacifist on humanitarian grounds.

He had been a member of the Communist Party, but had allowed his membership to lapse because he disagreed with them on the issue of conscription.

TERRITORIAL C.O. GETS 112 DAYS' DETENTION

"I AM a conscientious objector, I think it is the only possible way of thought," said Private Roy Leonard Bowers (20), of the RAMC, when charged at a court martial in London last week with being absent without leave from his Territorial camp.

In a letter to his commanding officer, whom he addressed as "Dear Friend," he had said, "I object to the external discipline of my mind and the State right to command me as an individual. And I object to any course of action advocated by the State. I have, and I intend to continue, to refuse to obey the State's dictum."

Captain L. H. W. Barrington, defending Private Bowers, said that he had finished his National Service with the highest testimonial a soldier could receive.

A sentence of 112 days' detention, which is subject to confirmation, was imposed.

Russian gifts to Po Valley refugees

THE CGIL, the main Italian trade union federation, has received a message from the Soviet trade unions to say that they are sending 12 tons of flour, 100 tons of sugar, and have collected £224,000 for the refugees of the Po Valley. The money is to be made available in lire.

World Government meeting at House of Commons

MANY people distinguished in the field of art, music and literature, and of all political parties and faiths, attended a meeting of the Parliamentary Association for World Government held in the Members' dining room at the House of Commons on Dec. 6.

Mr. Clement Davies, KC, MP, was in the chair, and Lord Beveridge gave an address on the objects of the Association. Reader Harris MP made an appeal for more members and subscriptions.

23 WOMEN IN BUS FRIGHTEN BREMEN

EXTRAORDINARY precautions were taken by Bremen police in connection with a meeting on peace held on Nov. 13, and addressed by the wives of the American and French High Commissioners in Germany, Mrs. McCloy and Mrs. Poncet.

The police watched every road leading to the city, and stopped one party of "invaders"—23 women from Hanover, who had hired a bus to take them to the meeting. They included Ingeborg Küster, the wife of the Editor of "Das andere Deutschland," the German pacifist paper. After some discussion Mrs. Küster was allowed to go to the hall under police escort, but on arrival was told that the meeting was full up.

Meanwhile, the bus was closely guarded, and no-one was allowed out, except to go to the lavatory under police supervision! Two of the women did manage to get to the meeting, however, and found that far from being full up, there was room for at least another 200 people.

Said Mrs. Küster afterwards:

"And all this because 23 women from Hanover were anxious to listen meekly and with interest to what the wife of the American High Commissioner had to say about the preservation of peace. Unhappy Germany!"

TEACHERS AND PEACE

A report of the Teachers' Peace Conference held in London last Saturday will appear in Peace News next week.

PEACE NEWS

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TOWARDS ALL MEN

"PEACE on earth and goodwill towards men." To most people this has apparently little meaning beyond a vague idea that at this time of year for some reason or other we all ought to be as matey as possible.

As an idea, it is certainly better than nothing. But in recent years an alternative version has crept into use: "Peace on earth to men of goodwill."

This latter is presented as an improvement and clarification, but it is not. It was, we presume, introduced for the benefit of the agnostic majority, to whom the idea of a divine creator expressing goodwill towards His creatures was more than they could swallow.

And so long as one ignores the first half of the sentence—"Glory to God in the highest"—on which the meaning of the whole depends, it makes some sense.

For if you don't believe in God, you can at least accept the obvious truth that peace can exist only between men of goodwill.



This is of course very true. But it has nothing especially to do with Christmas. It does not require a midwinter festival several thousand years old to emphasise that particular maxim, which applies just as much to August Bank Holiday or Pancake Tuesday.

If Christmas has any meaning at all, the older version is the correct one. As the Latin version puts it: "... in homines benevolentia"—"goodwill to men." If they'd meant "to men of goodwill" they would have spelt the last word differently.

("Benevolentes," we think; but there is no Latin dictionary in this office. Santa Claus please note).

Back in very ancient times, apparently before war was invented, men felt the goodwill of their God towards the earth. The earth was dead and had come to life again, so they had a feast of thanksgiving. It was as if they said, "God so loved the earth that he will not let it die, but renews its life every year to all eternity."

And today, Christmas has no meaning except that the goodwill of the Creator towards this earth was finally made manifest beyond doubt by the birth of the Christ.



But this is a "rational" age, and it is probably true that the majority of people today reject that idea. Yet the rationalists are not behaving any more rationally, for all their abandonment of religion in favour of "reason."

Relying on morality as distinct from religion ("ethics freed from the shackles of superstition," as the familiar dogma has it), they are not behaving any more morally. Never in all history have men, collectively, displayed a more thoroughly irrational behaviour than the present arms race, nor anything more immoral than the kind of war for which, with the support of the Christian Church, they are now preparing.

So, whichever of the two versions of the Christmas text they profess to believe, the religious and secular leaders of the nations have shown that they do not really believe either.

They do not believe in the way to peace prescribed in the Gospels, and they do not believe in goodwill as a means to peace. Both Christians and non-Christians put their faith solely and exclusively in threats of violence. Both are endeavouring to maintain peace not by showing goodwill but by showing defiance.

The only method of maintaining peace that they acknowledge is that of dogs, which snarl and bare their teeth to frighten the enemy off.

Goodwill is renounced as weakness. It is a patriotic duty to nourish fear and hatred against the potential enemy, lest we forget they are the enemy. Every means of publicity must be used to foster bad will against half the world's population.



So Christmas is still repudiated from platform, press and most of the pulpits. But the message of Christmas still stands, waiting to be taken seriously by Christendom.

Let us therefore celebrate the Festival by repudiating the bad will to which, as citizens of a particular nation, we are officially committed, and extend our goodwill to all men, with special reference to those of North Korea, Russia and China.

Why not a "Truce of God"?

THERE is a moral obligation upon the leaders of the United Nations forces to end the Korean war by conceding some advantage to their opponents in the armistice discussions.

For years we have belaboured the ears of the world with assertions of the moral superiority of the West over the East; of the Christian Democracies over the "godless" authoritarian states; of our higher conceptions of justice and freedom and of human values.

Our rulers have done their utmost to assure the world that our opponents in both the lethal and the verbal wars are not up to our Western standards, and that therefore Right is on our side.

But there is a corollary to all this which is overlooked. If indeed these Eastern peoples are inferior in understanding, the more do they need convincing as to our motives.

For the balance of justifiable suspicion is on their side. The Koreans have seen their country devastated in what they regard as an act of aggression. Call it their heathen blindness—but they do not see themselves as the aggressors.

The Chinese see their country menaced by the strongest Power in the world, which masses forces on their borders and gives support to a corrupt and hated despot from whom they have freed themselves after years of civil war.

Christmas—the opportunity

We shall not convince them of the loftier motives of Christian Democracy while we keep our negotiations down to their level of face-saving and bargaining, with callous indifference to the needless protraction of human suffering while the tricky manoeuvring for positions drags on.

To concede some advantage for the sake of ending the suffering—such a gesture might do something to convince the world of the superiority of Western justice.

There was a mediaeval custom called "The Truce of God," whereby warring parties would suspend hostilities during certain seasons at the order of the Church.

Conceptions of "practical politics" have changed since the Middle Ages. But the Western world is about to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Peace.

Is it entirely "unrealistic" to suggest that the revival of that old custom for this peculiarly fitting occasion might help to convince the Eastern world that our protestations of our desire for peace are sincere?

The West's real weakness

AS we go to press speculation in Paris is rife about what has been happening in the private conferences in which Mr. Vishinsky, Dr. Jessup, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and M. Moch, have been taking part under the chairmanship of Dr. Nervo, and we, too, can do no more than attempt some appraisal of the situation. It is, incidentally, significant that though Russia emphasised the importance which they attach to the talks by being represented by Vishinsky, Britain and America were content to send subordinates

A personal reaction to Chancellor Adenauer

By ROY SHERWOOD

I HEARD Dr. Adenauer speak, and watched him closely, on the two semi-public occasions of his London visit—the Foreign Press Association Luncheon at which he was the guest of honour and his Press conference an hour later.

What I like best about him is his soft Rhineland German, spoken in a pleasant voice so clear that it never needs to be raised, and was not raised even once, to stress any important point.

But he would not be among the first 50 men on whom I should feel tempted to try my luck, in any gathering of fifty-one or fifty-two, if I had to attempt to borrow half-a-crown. Completely self-possessed, suave and punctiliously courteous, he strikes me as hard as nails.



There is nothing old about him in appearance except the expression of his eyes. Judged by manner, movements and walk, he might be twenty years younger than he is. He is sparing of gesture and has no orator's or demagogue's tricks. Nor did the wording of either his formal speech or of his impromptu answers to questions reveal the slightest tendency in that direction. But the whole man exudes ambition and inflexible determination.

His address at the luncheon was like hundreds of others to which journalists have to listen, in as much as it said nothing whatever that was new, and said all the known things at very great length.

Yet it brought one indication of the man's calibre. He deviated from his prepared script by adding a sentence which said that, in his view, the British Government is wrong in its reserved attitude to the matter of European integration. The words in which this was expressed were direct and made no attempt at minimising the difference of views, nor was the addition

BEHIND THE NEWS

and not their foreign ministers. Let it first be said that it will be wrong to suggest that this method of trying to bridge the gulf (which was advocated in Peace News of Nov. 23) has not been worthwhile, even if it does not produce the full measure of agreement hoped for.

Are we indeed right in saying "hoped for"? Unfortunately nearly every national paper anticipated failure from the first. That is an indication of the spirit of distrust which prevails and of the wrong atmosphere in which such talks take place.

How much better if the whole pressure of public opinion had stressed the vital importance of reaching agreement and thus strengthened a determination to agree and proclaimed the need for mutual good will as a prerequisite of success.

What both sides want

The more we examine the two proposals in the light of what is known of the subsequent discussions, the more convinced we become that with reasonable good will agreement can still be reached. We stress "still be reached," because it would be a betrayal of the hopes of all peoples if further attempts are abandoned. Here is a situation in which both sides profess to want the same things:

the prohibition of atomic weapons;

the full disclosure of data about all armaments and armed forces;

a system of control and safeguards to make a disarmament programme effective.

The real difference seems to lie between the Russian demand that the four powers should agree to ban atomic weapons at the moment when the disarmament commission begins to work out arrangements for international inspection, and the Western demand that the banning of atomic weapons must wait the operations of the control organisation. We do not under-estimate the difference, but it is mainly a difference in timing and not of aim.

Mr. Vishinsky has not only promised that Russia will supply full data to the commission but has again repudiated the lie that Russia is not prepared to accept an adequate system of inspection and control, and has made clear that, though they maintain that the Security Council is the appropriate body to supervise inspection and control, the veto should not apply in this instance.

Concessions a sign of strength

Mr. Vishinsky is not being merely obstructive in this matter of timing, for to Russia the American plan involves the surrender of Russian sovereignty through the proposed scheme for international ownership of atomic resources before there is an acceptance of the banning and abolition of the atomic bomb.

It is not so easy to see what equivalent concessions have come from Britain and America (who seem to be standing for the

Baruch Plan in its original form) unless it be the acceptance of a disarmament commission to prepare the ground for a world disarmament conference.

We regret the suggestion made in the Times that any further drafting concessions on the part of Britain and America would be a confession of weakness.

It would, on the contrary, be an assertion of strength—the strength of a will which was determined to achieve not its own plan but the fulfilment of the hopes of humanity in a readiness to risk a wider measure of trust and to will the good of its opponents.

Reconciliation must go on

The fact that Dr. Nervo's report on the disarmament talks will indicate that the discussions have led to a clarification of the divergent views and some movement of each side towards the other is sufficient to justify the demand that the process should be continued.

We must insist that at least the new commission should take up the task of reconciliation at the point where the private conferences laid it down, and have a further opportunity of considering the two proposals in the light of such agreement as has been reached.

If that is to be done, Britain and America must not force the issue by demanding that the Assembly turns down the Soviet proposals.

If Dr. Nervo tended at one stage to be too optimistic in the items he placed in the agreed column of his draft report, we believe that this was due not to wishful thinking but to the instinct that, with the good will which he was entitled to assume, a large measure of agreement was possible. Indeed, the measure of failure will be the measure of the lack of good will.

It is significant that apparently Mr. Vishinsky found it easier to accept Dr. Nervo's first draft report than did the Western representatives.

It would be a tragedy indeed if they give the impression that they were afraid lest the private conference should lead to agreement. Any form of reduction of armaments or disarmament involves a risk and is an act of faith. Now is the time for such an act of faith on the part of Britain and America.

The Ladybird

DR. KONRAD ADENAUER, Chancellor of the Western German Federal Republic since its inception, is a true Rhinelander with all the stubbornness and independence characteristic of a people who were Prussian in name only.

He was elected Lord Mayor of Cologne after the first world war and remained in office until the Nazis removed him in 1933, as they removed other men of his calibre, for Dr. Adenauer is no yes-man and he is a Roman Catholic.

He did much for the city of Cologne during his term of office and amongst other things was responsible for the laying out of the "Green Belt," a vast park which circles the outskirts of the town, and the erection of a spacious and generously designed stadium.

Because he coupled his strict Catholicism with fairly progressive views, he was widely known as the "ladybird" ("black with red spots") and generally liked by the people of Cologne in the half-patronising way in which they allow themselves to admire anyone who has authority over them.

During his political exile under the Nazis, Dr. Adenauer lived in his villa at the foot of "the castled crag of Drachenfels," until towards the end of the war he was arrested and kept in prison for about three months, when he was released on account of ill health.

Welcome—then dismissal

The skeleton population of Cologne heaved a sigh of relief amidst the ruins of their city when the occupation authorities recalled him to his post as Lord Mayor. Soon afterwards, however, some disagreement arose between him and the British officials and he was dismissed for the second time.

As Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Dr. Adenauer has lost a good deal of his popularity. He is no longer merely at the head of a community who, being akin to him, understands him and whom he understands.

An able administrator of pre-Hitler days, he is now on the way to becoming a tragic failure. Tragic because he lost 12 years of his life during which he seems to have been not only politically inactive, but politically unconscious, as have so many of his contemporaries, and because fate has put into his hand at least one key to Germany's future, which he uses as he does, not so much against his better judgment as according to a judgment which he arrived at 20 years ago and has never altered since.

Dishonours are even

LABOUR and Tory partisans differ in their opinion as to who got the best in the Defence debate.

The Labour Press rightly rejoices in Churchill's grudging and somewhat graceless admission that Nye Bevan was correct in predicting that before the year was out

(Continued on back page)

MOVEMENT NEWS

Celebrity gifts raise money for PPU

MUCH public interest was aroused by the "Celebrity Gift" Stall at a Christmas Sale held in Friends Meeting House, Aylesbury, in aid of the Peace Pledge Union.

The Sale was arranged by the Aylesbury PPU Group, assisted by S. Bucks Area members and other friends.

Gifts were received from Vera Brittain, Kathleen Lonsdale, Minnie Pallister, Sir Laurence Olivier, Vivien Leigh, Emrys Hughes, MP, "Yaffle" and Phyllis Vallance.

Autographed copies of books came from Margaret Coles, Dallas Kenmare, Ruth Fry and others.

An original "Punch" drawing was sent by Mays; pheasants from the Duke of Bedford, and pottery from John Bew of Odney Potteries.

Other stalls held Christmas gifts, cosmetics, groceries, children's toys, etc.

A large number of those present were members of the general public, many of whom expressed interest in the PPU's work and accepted pamphlets. Reporters and photographers from the local press were present.

Receipts from the sale and donations amounted to £27 and after paying expenses £23 14s. was handed to the PPU.

However many atom bombs there might be in America, there was nothing that could stop atom bombs being dropped by rocket or aeroplane on Britain," the composer, Michael Tippett, told the Lewes (Sussex) branch of the Peace Pledge Union recently.

A party of pick-and-shovel peacemakers who recently undertook site-levelling and foundation-digging for a school in a poor area of Kassel, Germany, consisted of nine Germans, one Swede, seven Americans, one Dane, one Egyptian, two Italians, one Austrian and one Dutchman.

Willesden PPU Group have a new secretary: Tony Bentin, 35 Callcott Road, N.W.6.

London Group of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship (Sec: Denis Brian, 24a Breakspears Road, S.E.4) are to organise a series of lecture discussions. This decision follows a recent talk by James Avery Joyce, Labour candidate for Oldham East at the last General Election, who outlined some constructive proposals for pacifists in the Labour Party.

A newsletter is now being published by the Eltham PPU Group (Sec: Eric Durkin, 6 Marlings Park Avenue, Chislehurst, Kent), which has recently enrolled a number of new members.

Southend Peace Pledge Union Group (Sec: Bob Garton, 339 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea) invite all members in the district not attached to a group to their "New Year Social" on Jan. 2.

Two old-age pensioners, the Lister brothers of Camberwell, have between them delivered over 50,000 Peace Pledge Union leaflets in their neighbourhood. The "E.10 and E.11" PPU Group have recently completed the delivery of 12,000 leaflets in the Woodford (Essex) district.

PPU Non-violence Commission. Anyone interested in receiving minutes of the Commission's discussions on the use of non-violence is invited to send their name and address to the Minute Secretary, Hilda Klenze, at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, with a contribution towards the cost.

CHRISTMAS IS COMING

THE best Christmas present the world could have would be the news that the war in Korea had ended and that Britain, America and Russia had reached agreement to disarm.

Both are possible if there is sufficient good will, but we know that the mere desire for peace without the will to peace is not enough. Good will means the positive act of willing good, not only to our friends but to our neighbours, and Christmas has made the world our neighbourhood.

While I know that such thoughts will be much in your minds, may I also ask you to spare a special thought for the Peace Pledge Union as one of the corporate expressions of the will to peace in its advocacy of the policies which demonstrate goodwill to all men?

We have had generous donations in the last few days (including an anonymous gift of £20), which have brought us within reach of our aim of £1,000 for 1951. We can raise the balance of £190 before our books close on Jan. 5, if everyone who reads this will send us a Christmas gift. I recall the old rhyme which children used to sing:

"Christmas is coming and the geese are getting fat,
Will you please put a penny in the old man's hat?"

Please put something in the hat for PPU Headquarters Fund this Christmas time.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Contributions since Nov. 30: £48.

Total since Jan. 1, 1951: £810.

Amount required by Jan. 5, 1952: £190.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

London University students "will never support war"

SYBIL MORRISON CARRIES PACIFIST MOTION

AT the University College of London Union Debating Society on Nov. 29, Sybil Morrison, National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, carried the motion "That this House renounces war and will never support or sanction another," by 17 votes to six with six abstentions.

She was seconded by Mr. Gerry Segal, a past President of the Union Debating Society, and opposed by Mr. John Lowe a member of the Conservative Party, who was seconded by Mr. David Commins, a past President of the Society.

"AN ACTIVE POLICY"

The debate was lively and lasted for two hours.

Sybil Morrison's final speech pointing out that pacifism was not a question of lying down to be trampled upon, but an active policy which required as much enterprise, energy, sacrifice and courage as war, obviously moved the House, and the ringing "Aye" in answer to the President's request "Those in favour answer 'aye'" would certainly have gladdened the hearts of all pacifists.

When the vote was counted even the opponents seemed to be pleased!

Voice of (young) America

"I THINK I speak for all teen-agers of this day and age when I say that we are all sick of the way world events stand today," wrote Sherry Stockheim of Galway, New York, in a letter printed recently by the New York Times.

"What's wrong with the leaders of the world? Is world destruction all they want? Don't they care about the little people, the ones who follow them, the ones that do as they say?"

"Most of us teen-agers don't know what war is because we've never experienced it. But we've heard enough about it to be scared."

"At least we know we don't want to destroy our homes, our friends, our countries. At least we know we want peace—everlasting peace."

A Hymn of Peace

Burnley Wood

77.44.77.

WILLIAM B. WORDSWORTH



1. What holy strain is swelling
Down growing generations?
Its theme of peace,
Love, hope, release,
A gracious message telling
To earth's discordant nations.

2. This music God created.
The morning stars, rejoicing,
Together sang
Till heaven rang,
In chorus unabated
Their perfect concord voicing.

3. Then why, with harsh intrusion
Of hatred, strife and madness,
Should we destroy
God's peace and joy,
Put order in confusion,
And cast o'er life death's sadness?

From "Rejoice O People," Hymns and Verse published by the author.

4. O sin! God's work undoing
To mar His love's creation:
His trust betray,
His image slay,
In blood our hands imbruing.
Deserve we not damnation?

5. O mercy deep, unbounded!
God's love o'er sin prevaleth.
The crucified,
Forgiving died:
On Him our hope is founded,
Whom sin in vain assaileth.

6. Then lift up hearts and voices,
With heaven's music blending.
Let love increase,
Forgiveness, peace;
Till all mankind rejoices,
In concord never ending.

Rev. ALBERT F. BAYLY

WHERE THE MONEY GOES

£4,700,000,000 for "unimaginable devilry"

—says Vicar

THE following extract is taken from the parish magazine of St. Paul's Church, Crofton, Orpington, Kent, and is written by the vicar, the Rev. Francis Noble:

If we were to multiply the income of the Church of England by four or five, we should probably get the cost of maintaining the Christian Church as a whole in this country. These figures might seem substantial, but in actual fact, making certain comparisons, they are almost paltry.

Let us quote a few statistics for Britain in 1949—the latest available:

£90 million was spent on hairdressing and cosmetics;

The total bill for alcoholic drinks was £719 million;

FIVE CHARGES AGAINST AMERICAN OBJECTOR

TWENTY-FIVE years imprisonment and a \$50,000 fine can be imposed on American objector Alan Thomson, of Oklahoma, who was arrested on Oct. 29 for failure (i) to fill out a conscription questionnaire; (ii) to carry a registration card; (iii) to carry a notice of classification; (iv) to report for medical examination; (v) to report for induction into the forces.

Thomson, who is free on bond pending trial, is a member of the American Friends Service Committee institutional service unit working in a state mental hospital at Independence, Iowa.

Robert Michener, now serving three concurrent five-year sentences, is the only American CO who has been convicted on more than one count since the 1948 law. He is also the only CO to be convicted on the charges 1 and 4 of the Thomson indictment. One CO has served a term for failure to carry a registration card. Nobody has previously been prosecuted for failure to carry a notice of classification.

Smokes cost £764 million;
Money staked on various forms of gambling was £725 million (pools £58 million, greyhound racing £200 million, horse racing £450 million, other forms £17 million);
Entertainment cost £174 million.

Adding these latter items together, we find that the nation spent the staggering amount of £2,382 million on drinks, smokes and betting amusements in 1949, and something like £80 million on maintaining its Christian Church.

Another comparable figure is £4,700 million for armaments during the next three years—£1,566 million a year for defence, or, from another point of view, for preparing to exterminate, with unimaginable devilry, our fellow men and fellow Christians everywhere.

The last few decades have been characterised by increasing materialism on the one hand and, on the other, by sparse congregations, the building of cheap churches and declining moral standards. These figures and facts are a telling commentary on our Lord's words "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

WAR RESISTANCE ABROAD

If you wish to be kept informed about war resisters in other countries and the work being carried on by the War Resisters' International in 88 countries of the world, read

"THE WAR RESISTER"

(winter issue ready shortly, annual subscription a minimum of 2s. 6d. post free).

also

WAR RESISTANCE TODAY

price 1s. post free.

(the Secretary's report to the W.R.I. Triennial Conference, July, 1951.)

You are also invited to support the International's work financially. The need is urgent. Please send your orders and gifts to

The War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

December 14, 1951, PEACE NEWS—7

POWER AND THE USSR

PN Radio Correspondent

THE fifth Television foreign affairs programme, given by Christopher Mayhew and Max Beloff, was an eye-opener.

Devoted to a fairly hostile survey of Russia's economic, political and military strength, it nonetheless gave a strong and explicit impression, both from the figures presented and the comment on them, that Russia is today neither economically able nor politically likely to launch an aggressive war: the conclusion presented very strongly by Dr. Beloff (in spite of Mayhew's leading questions, which seemed to be designed to soften the outlines) was that fear of Western hostility was the main driving-force of Soviet policy, that Russian dispositions were predominantly defensive in conception, and that the main risk of war lay in the possibility that the Soviet Government might become finally convinced that an attack was imminent.

This was presented as a view which is gaining ground among Western observers—"strength" received a rather more perfunctory advocacy than usual and appeared alongside a plea for conciliation. Even the notorious issue of Colliers' ("not very helpful"—Mayhew) was quoted to show that such fears, though groundless of course, had unfortunately received some colour from Western behaviour.

★

To those who have been saying this for some years, this programme should have given as much comfort from the impression it gave in spite of itself as from its explicit intention. American television please copy.

Mayhew seems to have failed, from what he said in his introductory remarks, to induce the Soviet Embassy to provide a speaker. This was a pity, but he deserves the credit of having tried. Beloff's comments might profitably be digested by those who run the BBC's violently polemical Eastern European Service and the Voice of America, which are currently throwing away one of our main weapons to convince the Soviet Government of our conciliatory intentions.

The programme included shots from captured Russian newsreels made for North Korea. Though the Russians would not have liked it, the whole feature seemed to this correspondent to mark a slight but noticeable advance over the usual Readers' Digest line, and its effect on viewers may have been, one hopes, the stimulation of a few seriously self-critical thoughts.

The next programme, which deals with a policy for the West, may be as interesting as its predecessor.

Little Theatre fights discrimination

THE Little Theatre in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia which, as reported in PN, Nov. 2, is organising an African Eisteddfod in the New Year, is still fighting the Town Council regarding its application to use the City Hall for an exhibition.

The Council have now agreed to let the hall provided that no Africans are admitted, but Mrs. Coleman, of Little Theatre, has said that she would never give such an undertaking, which would mean debarring Africans from their own exhibition.

A local paper, the "Chronicle," has published two editorials urging a reconsideration of the decision. In its leading article of Oct. 6 it declared: :

"In the past, meetings of non-Europeans have been banned on the grounds that there are no sanitary facilities for them. Even that excuse cannot be raised in this case..."

"The Council might as well ban non-Europeans from walking about town on the grounds that there are no public conveniences for them."

"No valid reason for the refusal comes to mind..."

"We are told that the policy of the country is partnership, 'equal rights for all civilised men'; yet here is an example of the native striving to show what he can do, and the Council apparently goes out of its way to make it as difficult as possible for him to show it."

"We suggest the Council review the matter, and we are sure that more liberal feelings, more in keeping with the individual inclinations of councillors, will prevail."

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS TO OUR READERS

America

CLARENCE PICKETT of Philadelphia was for 20 years Secretary of the American Friends Service Council and was outstanding among the individuals who were in reality being honoured when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in 1947 jointly to the AFSC and the British Friends Service Council.

He still serves the AFSC in the capacity of Honorary Secretary. He is one of the Quaker team engaged in peace activities at the UN Assembly now meeting in Paris.

Test explosion of atomic bombs; the clatter of bigger and better tanks; aluminium turned into bombers by tens of thousands; call for more men to be moulded into instruments of death: these are the constant sounds that strike our ears these fateful days. And yet could the motives of men change but a little, these engines of war might be turned to production of food and to the removal of incalculable burdens from the backs of men. And most of all men's hearts could sing again.

The peacemaker must not lose the gift of prophecy today, for it was a prophet who in the midst of the climate of war saw swords made into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.

Britain

MICHAEL TIPPETT, Composer and Director of Music at Morley College, London, is a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union and a Director of Peace News. He was sent to prison in 1943 for refusing to undertake military service.

This is how I would like my Christmas Greetings to go: first of all to the Peace News staff, who produce our little paper each week and bring us the news of peace that is always a refreshment. Next, to the Peace Pledge Union, without whose perhaps somewhat haphazard organisation PN would not have survived. Further, to the War Resisters' International, that is to our comrades the world over. Finally to everyone at large who may only see the paper by the lucky accident. Gratitude for the provision of our paper, greetings for the coming year. Each peaceful Christmas is a victory.

Germany

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI of Berlin was a German Naval Officer in World War I. He took part in the naval rebellion in 1918 and was elected to the Revolutionary Council by the crew of the mine-sweeper in which he was serving. He escaped to Spain in 1932 after publishing news about the clandestine rearmament of Germany, was gaoled by Franco for nine years and returned to Berlin in 1945. He is a member of the Council of the War Resisters' International, which he joined at its formation in 1925.

There are many people today who are without hope. They think that the end of civilisation is in sight, and do not see how they can survive.

But this attitude is unjustified. There is hope, much hope, that the sound forces of reason will win. Pessimism is not only unjustified, it makes men sterile. I remember that Martin Luther once said:

AMERICA BRITAIN GERMANY RUSSIA S. AFRICA

JOSEPH

He is a good lad—never given us any trouble:
Knows how to use plane and chisel,
The different feels of wood.
Since he could grasp a nail he's helped me here,
Held planks for measuring,
And watched while I fashioned yokes and ploughs.
He'll be a craftsman—he has the hands...

Just twelve. Next March he'll come with us
Up to Jerusalem for the Passover.
A man already—and only yesterday
I built the cradle for him. Yes, time passes.
He knows his books, the Rabbi says,
Better than he does—that's his joke, of course—
And cuts his letters in the sand
As clear as any scholar.
Friday's trumpet never bothers him,

And Sabbaths he marches to the House of Gathering
Like other boys to sport. You should see him
Sitting cross-legged among the scattered herbs
Watching the readers' mouths, to taste
The flavour of their words!
Then the Prophets: quite often he is chosen
—Mary's proud then—and reads their thoughts as his.
A ringing voice, Isaiah's his favourite.

Now? Out on the hills, if I know him,
Keeping the larks company. You will see.
He'll be in to breakfast with the dream on him,
But cheerful and ready for work...
Here he comes now! (See how his eyes go first
To the sacred scroll nailed to the door-post).
Good morning, lad! A friend to see us—
Eli from Capernaum passing through
To Caesarea. Your mother's bracelet—
That was his, and excellent workmanship.

That timber? It came last night...
Well, you must learn it some time,
Crosses. At least the cross-beams for them.
We have to make them... Judas the Galilean
And all his followers.
The young fool, Eli. He raised a rebellion
Against the census—you'll have heard of it—
"No King but God" their cry. Ten thousand of them,
And only two survive.
Yes, they stormed the armoury at Tiberias,
Seizing its weapons; but they stood no chance
Against the Romans. General Varus broke them
Like a dead branch, then burnt Seppharis—
We saw the flames from here—
Till morning, not a house, not a single house;

Women and children shipped to slavery,
And those remaining from the massacre
Now to be crucified. Yes, every one.
A hideous death.
I'd sooner lose the money twenty times
Than be a party to it. But Roman orders:
"All carpenters within ten miles."
Poor luckless fellows! Why did they do it?

Why can't they understand that violence
Only breeds violence?—that those who take the sword
Will perish by the sword? I know, I know,
But there are other ways to right men's wrongs
Than washing them in blood. God did not set us
Here on this little world to kill each other,
I'm sure of that. He loves his children,
As I love Jesus here. We cannot serve him
By actions he abhors. Only by pursuing
The work he made us for—farming or carpentry
Or what you will—by loving God
And loving God in man... Coming, Mary!
The other room, Eli: the meal is ready
And I've talked long enough. Come, lad.
Come.
We'll pray for them—yes, and for all mankind
Wandering so far from God.

Clive Sansom

From the Festival of Britain prize-poem, "The Witnesses," to be published by Penguin Books Ltd.

'Watch that goodwill' says OWLGLASS

THE Editor has asked me to give a Christmas message to his readers. I think he wants me to help him out with a job which, judging by his leading article, he seems to be finding rather difficult.

I will do my best, though I do not approach the task with the readiness and aplomb which I usually bring to a job of work. The fact is, Christmas is always a rather sad time for me. It pains me to see people around me using the occasion for indulging their carnal appetites.

I always felt like this, even when young. As a child I deplored the assumption on the part of my elders that all I desired at Christmas was fleshly delights. I felt they displayed a low estimate of my character and a misinterpretation of my life-plan.

THEY meant well, I knew, but they could not perceive that my gratitude was feigned and that I accepted such things because I did not like to hurt their feelings by refusing. As I told my Tribunal—all my life I have never been able to hurt a living creature.

The Chairman said, "What would you do if you found a flea in your bed?"

That didn't trip me up because I'd swotted up all the answers. I replied, "I would say, 'Friend, there are not wanted here,' and place it, ever so gently, in a wool-lined matchbox, and send it to the Dogs' Home, where it could be happy in the company of its kind."

"I've got one in my pocket now," I continued, "which I'm taking to Battersea when I leave here. Would you like to see it?"

And the Chairman said, "Unconditional exemption. Next case, quick."

BUT we were discussing Christmas, not fleas or tribunals. As I was saying: How often, when my little oesophagus was full up to the cricoid cartilage, would I continue to accept proffered delicacies until my very molars were submerged, lest I should seem boorish and ungrateful.

Sensitive children are inarticulate regarding their feelings, and oft, when I sought to make them understand, they would only say, "Don't speak with your mouth full, dear."

So it is that even today the old sad associations cling to this Festival. Moreover, at a time like this, when the pious Christian nations of the West are united in defence against the Materialism of the East, it is even more out of place to stress the grosser aspects of the season.

So I find it hard to express the season's greetings in the orthodox terminology. At every attempt to do so I find myself committed to sentiments of a nature calculated to undermine the national morale and lower the share value of North Atlantic Brotherhood, Inc.

Every Christmas card I pick up is covered with Communist slogans. Many of them display a portrait of Stalin in national costume and, what is worse, with the natural malevolence of his features hypocritically masked by a benevolent expression.

I cannot write about "Peace" now that the word is used to signify a Communist plot and has been replaced in the dictionary by "Security." I cannot write about Goodwill, for the Russians would take

advantage of it to push out another tricky "peace plan."

It might be possible to express Selective Goodwill instead of the usual promiscuous kind.

We might bring ye olde, olde wishe up-to-date by wishing each other—"Security on earth, and goodwill to all men domiciled West of a line drawn from the middle of Berlin down to Trieste then due East to Belgrade and South again to Athens with a loop round Turkey." But it would take up a lot of room on a card.

I'M not saying it's absolutely impossible to have goodwill towards the Russians. During the war, bishops and people of that sort used to tell us that we could kill Germans with love for them in our hearts. So it might be possible to wish the Russians goodwill while calling them liars and thugs and getting ready to blow them all to hell.

But it's a difficult trick and requires several years' training in a theological college. So if I were you I wouldn't try. The intellectual effort would spoil the party. If you ask me, the way to spend Christmas properly is to invite a few friends, shut all the windows, disconnect the radio and keep the nations out.

Then you can keep your eye on your goodwill, and see that it doesn't go wandering off by itself and get into bad company.

We did not say it...

Every intelligent inhabitant of Western Europe knows, in the marrow of his bones, that a third world war will finish his country—its people, its cities, its future. Two world wars have toppled the region from a position of world ascendancy to one of weakness and dependence. Another must complete the destruction.—Professor D. F. Fleming in the Nation, USA.

We are being shouted into a catastrophic war by the opinion makers of this country.—W. R. Matthews, New York Times, Oct. 31, 1951.

European workers hesitate to make still more sacrifices for rearmament. They are tired, and want desperately to know where it will all end.—W. Glenvil Hall, MP, at Strasbourg.

In the last analysis collective security means the organisation of peace and prevention of war by the combined efforts of the international community. It is not a device for the maintenance of the status quo within a collective system; nor should it be confused with a system of alliances directed against a Power or a group of Powers.—Dr. Muntz, Chairman of United Nations Collective Measures Committee.

Sir William Fraser, the chairman of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., states that the dividend for 1951 is likely to be at the same rate of 30 per cent. which has been paid for some years past.—Manchester Guardian, Nov. 28, 1951.

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READERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

to go:
ur little
always
t whose
ot have
that is
ut large
atitude
g year.

"Even if I were told that the world was going to be destroyed tomorrow, this would not keep me from planting my little apple tree today."

I hope that we shall all have the strength to do our duty in this spirit during the year to come, not considering the immediate consequences, but acting as our conscience tells us.

Russia

VLADIMIR V. TCHERTKOV of Moscow is the son of Leo Tolstoy's former private secretary, Vladimir G. Tchertkov.

The dense clouds of a new world war are arising on the horizon, and it is the duty of common people in all countries to raise their voices against war.

If the people of all nations would say to their governments that they do not want war, and will not take part in any war, there would never be any. The governments know that the common people of their countries do not want war. They try to deceive their people by saying that to attain peace one must be strong, and ready to meet the aggressor, and therefore they must arm themselves.

"So-called Christian churches" as Leo Tolstoy writes in his Letter to a Non-commissioned Officer "say that it is right to kill people in certain cases and in war, while in the books regarded as holy by those who so teach there is no such permission, but on the contrary, not only is all murder forbidden but also any injuring of others. . . . And, you ask, is not this a fraud? Yes,

it is a fraud, committed for the sake of those accustomed to live on the sweat and blood of other men, who have perverted and are still perverting Christ's teaching. This teaching was given to men for good, but now, in its perverted form, has become the chief source of human misery. The will of God is not that we should fight, and oppress the weak, but that we should acknowledge all men to be brothers, and should serve one another."

South Africa

MANILAL GANDHI, Phoenix, Natal, son of Mahatma Gandhi, is Editor of Indian Opinion. He is at present engaged in a non-violent struggle against South Africa's Apartheid laws.

I am deeply grateful to the Editor of Peace News for this opportunity of conveying my best wishes to all for a happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

May I also take this opportunity of expressing my profound sense of gratitude to the many friends who have so kindly sent me their blessings in my humble efforts to abide by the law of God as against the unjust and immoral laws enacted by man to persecute man. They have been a source of great encouragement to me.

It is my humble prayer that God may grant me wisdom, courage, and strength to make my due contribution to the cause of world peace without bloodshed.

That is my wish and prayer for all.

—and especially the men who will be in prison

DENMARK

Greetings may be sent collectively to war resisters doing alternative service in the following camps.

Naegterne, Gribsskovlejren, Maarum st. Naegterne, Oksbollelejren, Oksbol.

FRANCE

César Bugany, 82 Avenue des Aviateurs, Bruay en Artois, (Pas de Calais).
André Schoenauer, Prison militaire, 31, rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Pierre Vivien, Prison militaire, 31, rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Jacques Caron, Prison militaire, 31 rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Bruno Montanari, Prison militaire, 31, rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Felix Ratajczak, Prison militaire, 31 rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Edmond Schaguenée, Prison militaire, 31, rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Pierre Delattre, Prison militaire, 31, rue de Combout, Metz, Moselle.
Gaston Couly, Prison S. Pierre, rue S. Pierre, Marseille, B. du Rhône.
M. Hickel, Fort de Ha, Bordeaux, Gironde.
Charles Meyer, Prison de Fresnes, (Set Marne), Fresnes.
Felix Sadowsky, Prison de Fresnes, (Set Marne), Fresnes.
Joseph Matshula, Prison de Fresnes, (Set Marne), Fresnes.
Edouard Chechelski, Prison de Fresnes, (Set Marne), Fresnes.
Zyto Zygmunt, Prison militaire Chave, Boulevard Chave, Marseille.

HOLLAND

1. War Resisters in prison.

Dutch prisoners are not allowed to receive greetings from others than their family. The home address is therefore given to which all greetings should be addressed.

Henk Koestal, Amsterdam, Spaarndammerdijk 59/3. Sentence: 3 years 6 mths.
Henk de Jong, Amsterdam, Westerstraat 86/III. 2 years 6 mths.
Julius Adema, Leeuwarden, Schans 4. 3 years.
Johan Weggelaar, Amsterdam, Palmstraat 99/III. 3 years.
Joop Lemmers, Nijmegen, Floraweg 3. 3 years.
Coen Band, Amsterdam, Leliegracht 52. 2 years.
Fred van Duren, Amsterdam, Stolkwijkstraat 7/III. 2 years 6 mths.
Cor Hoogendijk, 's Gravenhage, Boeistraat 23. 2 years.
Uilke Bekkema, Rottevalle, Hoofdstraat 33. 1 year 6 mths.
Mart Bleeker, Wormer, Dorpsstraat 339. 2 years 6 mths.
Lammert van Achteren, Beverwijk, Hofdijkstraat 51. 2 years.
Simon Klein, Wieringen, Kliteelweg 1. 1 year 9 mths.
Wiebe Hoekstra, Duurswoude 101, Friesland. 2 years.
Tjitze Kramer, Gorredijk, Kerkewal 89. 1 year 6 mths.
Fred Jacobs, Haarlem, Westerhoutpark 1a. 1 year 9 mths.
Jan ter Burg, Leeuwarden, Leeuwarderstraat 6. 2 years.
Dirk Noorden, Anna Paulowna, Stoomweg 48. 1 year 6 mths.
Gurbe van der Sloep, Nijeberkoop 91 a, Friesland. 1 year 6 mths.
Albert Jan Visschers, Borculo, L 12. 2 years.
Hans Hoogerhuis, Krommenie, Militaireweg 105. 2 years 6 mths.
Kees Langhout, Haarlemmermeer, Leimuiderdijk 60. 3 years.
Arien Pijper, Nieuwe Niedorp, C 123. 3 years.

"Strive unceasingly against the giant evils that are making this world a hell, where it might be a heaven; never doubting that ultimate victory will be ours, nor complaining if our part is but strife and suffering that future generations may be blessed.—Don Robins."

ONCE again Peace News publishes a list of men who will be spending Christmas in either a prison or a labour camp—the second Christmas behind bars for many of them—in the hope that as in previous years readers will send them Christmas or New Year greeting cards.

Readers are reminded that they should not send letters to men in prison as this might prevent prisoners receiving letters from their families.

This list, which is compiled by the War Resisters' International, cannot be complete because details concerning many prisoners are not available.

Albert Baas, Alkmaar, Eikelenbergstraat 52. 2 years 6mths.
Piet Boon, Amsterdam Z. Corn. Antho-nisstr. 81/II. 3 years 6 mths.
Wim van Tol, Rotterdam, Ommoordsestraat 17a. 3 years.
Henk Tol, Middenbeemster, Middenweg 172.
Piet de Ruyter, Koog a/d Zaan, Jan Beste-vaerstraat 92.
A. J. H. Bruggeman, Zwolle, Ruysdaelstraat 50.
Frans Letterie, Hilversum, Siemensweg 17.
Tjeerd Geertsma, Appelscha, Esweg 128. 2 years.
Barend Hagreize, Hengelo (O) Dorastraat 10. 1 year 6 mths.
Tjibbe Bijlsma, Bergen (NH) Komlaan 16.
Hotse Velliga, Rotterdam, Immobiliënstraat 51.
Jan Brouwer, smederij Vledderveen (Dr).
Jan Bender, Wormveer, Timorstraat 10.
Piet Bootsma, Amsterdam-Oost, Ic. Atjchstraat 15/II.

2. War Resisters in Civilian Service Camps.

One name only is given to receive greetings on behalf of all the war resisters in the camp.

Anton Daniels, Dienstweigeraarskamp Vledder.

3. War Resisters in Psychiatric Hospital.

One name only is given to receive greetings on behalf of all the war resisters in the hospital.

Henri Sanders, Rijks Psychiatrische Inrichtingen, Eindhoven.

SWITZERLAND

Rudolf Burgunder, Strafanstalt Regensdorf, Kt. Zurich.

ITALY

Greetings may be sent to the following war resister through his mother

Luigi Valente, c/o Signora Maira Valente, Via Quattro Novembre n 19, Marano Vicentino, (Vicenza), Italy.

GREAT BRITAIN

William J. Bull, HM Prison, Stafford. Sentence: 6 mths.
Howard B. Haggis, HM Prison, Shrewsbury, Shropshire. 6 mths.
Alexander Neill, HM Prison, Saughton, Edinburgh. 1 year.
Reginald G. Walker, HM Prison, East-church, Sheerness, Kent. 6 mths.
Michael B. Webster, HM Prison, Lewes, Sussex. 3 mths.
William J. G. Moulton, HM Prison, Shrewsbury, Shropshire. 4 mths.
William J. Went, HM Prison, Cardiff. 3 mths.
Stanley Russell, HM Prison, Liverpool. 93 days.

Charles D. Todd, HM Prison, Lewes, Sussex. 3 mths.
Brian Lamb, HM Prison, Winchester, Hants. 3 mths.
Peter Thorpe, HM Prison, Brixton. London, S.W.2. 3 mths.
Ian D. Gardiner, HM Prison, Winson Green, Birmingham. 9 mths.
Alan Tyler, HM Prison, Winson Green, Birmingham. 3 mths.
Bernard Bennett, HM Prison, Bedford. 3 mths.
Ronald Simpson, HM Prison, Durham. 81 days.

NORWAY

Collective greetings may be sent to war resisters in the following camps

Velferdsraadet, Havnaas Leir, Mysen.
Velferdsraadet, Hustad Leir, Julshamn.

SWEDEN

Collective greetings may be sent to war resisters at the following Civilian Work Establishments.

Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Box 5, Asbro, Sweden.
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Sunnanas, Gävle 1, Sweden.
Vapenfria Värnpliktiga, Garnisonsbrandkaren, Boden 19, Sweden.

BELGIUM

Jean van Lierde, Prison de Nivelles, Bruxelles.
Henri Quenon, Prison de Forest, Bruxelles.
Emile Scortell, Prison de Forest, Bruxelles.
Roger Sanders, Prison de Forest, Bruxelles.
P. M. Puttemans, Prison de Forest, Bruxelles.
M. Moermans, Gevangenissen te Gent.
M. Vonck, Gevangenissen te Gent.
Léon Gaumet, Prison de Merxplas.
Claude Vivier, Prison de Merxplas.

USA

Robert Somers, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Aaron Yoder, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Donald Nagler, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Duane Metzger, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Kenneth Champney, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
James Pierce, FCI, Ashland, Ky.

James Lawson, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Joel, Orin, Paul and Sid Doty, FCI, Ashland, Ky.
Richard Cameron, FCI, Danbury, Conn.
Stephen Shaw, FCI, Danbury, Conn.
Max Pardue, Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
David Wireman, Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Franklin Curia, Prison Camp, Mill Point, W. Va.
Donald Fisk, U.S. Prison, McNeill Island, Wash.
Donald Koch, U.S. Prison, McNeill Island, Wash.
James MacDonald, U.S. Prison, McNeill Island, Wash.
Robert Starkweather, U.S. Prison, McNeill Island, Wash.
Larry Atkins, U.S. Reformatory, Petersburg, Va.
Robert Michener, Medical Centre, Springfield, MD.
Robert Beach, Medical Centre, Springfield, MD.
Dwight Platt, Medical Centre, Springfield, MD.
Earl Glauert, Medical Centre, Springfield, MD.
Robert Richter, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Robert Cannon, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Gerald Counts, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Alfred Dana, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
James Farmer, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Don Noble, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
James Maloney, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.
Roger Thomas, Prison Camp, Tucson, Ariz.

Addresses of the following are not known.
James Dawson, Charles Leonard, Bernard Primbsch, Charles Hoeh, Keith Barnhart, Edward Beals, Charles Washington, William Swartz.
Have been arrested. Trials pending.
Harvey Gray, Roger Rose, Storrs Old, Kenneth Pottce, Richard Talbert, Paul Good, Harris Good, Frank Bauman.

* This quotation is taken from "Don Robins: A Miscellany." Wakeman Press, Ripon, 5s.

WORLD FASHION

The wives of delegates played an important part in forcing UNO's move from Lake Success to Paris. . . . While the world statesmen argue, Paris remembers the really important things, such as the clothes the women will be wearing.

—Evening Standard

Who would not be a UNO wife, The power behind the scenes of strife Where mannequin parades are rife In Paris, not in Lake Success?

These are the world's "important things," Modistes shall judge, and fashion rings Become the argument that brings The statesman's verdict—nothing less!

PHYLLIS VALLANCE

TWO CHRISTMAS COMPETITIONS

1. A copy of "Search after Sunrise," autographed by the author, Vera Brittain, will be awarded for the best list of not more than six questions to be addressed by a tribunal to candidates volunteering on conscientious ground to defend their way of life by force of arms.

2. A copy of "To Live in Mankind," autographed by the author, Reginald Reynolds, will be awarded for the best imaginary excerpts from a finance debate of the first World Parliament, including contributions from the hon. members for the UK, USA and USSR (Limit 300 words).

A sixpenny stamp must accompany all entries, which should be addressed: Christmas Competition, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Closing date January 7.

The Vienna Meeting of the World Peace Council

By the Rev.

Clifford H. Macquire

General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Great Britain who was invited to Vienna as a guest of the World Peace Council. The meeting took place from Oct. 31 to Nov. 6.

THE Viennese speak of their lovely City as "four elephants in one boat," and it does not need much imagination to realise how likely it is that such a boat will be rocked.

It would be sufficiently precarious a situation even in a time of calm; it is highly dangerous in the troubled waters of a country occupied by the opposed powers of the "East" and the "West."

Vienna is divided into five zones—one for each of the four occupying powers and, within the area in the centre of the city enclosed by the Ringstrasse, an international zone.

Civilians may move freely in any part of the city, but troops are limited to their own zones, while jeeps, in each of which there must be a British, French, Russian and American military policeman, patrol the streets.

This may be amusing as the plot for a Hollywood film, but it is a constant reminder of the suspicions and distrust which war breeds even among allies, and, for the Austrian people, a reminder that their liberation is not achieved.

Torchlight procession

This, then, was the setting for the meeting of the second World Peace Council, to which I had accepted an invitation to go as a guest. It was also the setting, not surprisingly, for a mass demonstration by some of the 500,000 Austrians who have signed the World Peace Council's appeal for a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers.

The demonstration took the normal form of a mass march round the Ringstrasse. Some 70,000 took part and it began at 3.30 p.m. in daylight and ended as a torchlight procession four hours later.

As a demonstration it was impressive mainly by contrast to "inspired" processions. It was obviously unregimented and much that happened appeared to be spontaneous.

I got the strong impression—and I endeavoured to be objective—that those who took part were genuinely attempting to make articulate the desire of the Austrian people for peace and doubtless reflecting the desire of a much wider public. The banners—many hundreds of them—bore such slogans as, "Peace not War," "Houses instead of Barracks," "Rearmament means War, Disarmament means Peace," "Austria shall not be an Alpine Fortress," etc.

The Picasso dove was very much in evidence not only among the demonstrators but also among the even greater crowd of sight-seers who lined the route.

If this is the way the Soviet Union and those countries who give their blessing to the "Defenders of Peace" are expressing their aggressive intentions and preparing their peoples for war, then it is certainly a unique way—the most that could be said is that it is creating a common will to resist any extension of "Western Imperialist" influence.

The Council assembled on the day appointed and was declared open by its President, Professor Joliot-Curie, on the evening of Oct. 31—it was not, as reported in at least one London newspaper, delayed to await the arrival of a delegation from Egypt. Among the 213 delegates and guests from 48 countries some were well-known Churchmen, Parliamentarians, Scientists, Authors, Artists, Trade Unionists, etc.

"Help people to know each other"

The agenda for the Council named two main subjects for discussion and decision.

1. The question of the appeal for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers—"to review, clarify, enlarge our proposals on armaments in general and, in particular, on the prohibition and control of atomic weapons."

2. The question of cultural exchanges—"by bringing about cultural understanding between the peoples, helping them to know each other, the WPC will carry out a work of Peace and Love."

Speeches by delegates and visitors were delivered in the plenary sessions where there was simultaneous translation into the five main languages.

I was myself given the opportunity to speak on the first full day of the plenary sessions and I was left quite free both to state the Christian Pacifist position and also to plead with the Council to make its peace-making realistic, to issue a call to the many millions who have signed World Peace Council appeals to renounce violence of all kinds and thus remove the one essential tool for making war from the hands of all Governments, namely the soldier, the sailor, the airman, the worker in the armaments factory and the scientist in the atom bomb laboratory.

A common denominator: violence

I was received with obvious attention and no little interest when I asserted that, though there were vast differences between the political bases of, say, the Third Reich

under Hitler, the Communist regime in the Soviet Union, the Governments of Mr. Attlee and Mr. Churchill in Great Britain, and of Mr. Truman in the USA, nevertheless their basic faith is the same:

There is with them all a terrible identity—they all believe in the use of armed force, of speaking from strength; the most they are prepared to envisage is a reduction of armaments, not their absolute abolition.

The one faith that is different from all these others which are fundamentally so alike is that of the man who not merely objects to war but who renounces it and thus begins in himself the abolition of war.

Cultural exchanges

In order to facilitate the exchange of ideas in full discussion, two Commissions were set up as follows:

1. A Political Commission, which subdivided into three sections to deal with: (a) The relationship of the WPC to UNO.

(b) Questions of the Far East, Middle East, and Europe.

(c) Disarmament.

2. A Cultural Commission, which would be concerned with the exchange of "select works of real value—books, films, music—which would be translated and widely distributed," and of "internationalists, students, etc., between the countries, making it possible for scientists to work in laboratories of other countries."

Sub-commissions brought resolutions to the main Commissions who in turn brought them to the Council for adoption.

Action by the common people

I was invited to be a member of the Sub-commission dealing with disarmament and was given complete freedom to express the judgment of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the National Peace Council on previous resolutions of the WPC and on any other matter.

I took an early opportunity to voice my criticism of the appeal to abolish the use

of weapons of mass destruction on the ground that it was

(a) naive because it seemed to assume that an agreement to abolish particular weapons would necessarily prevent their use in any future war—"the only realistic appeal would be to the common people that they should refuse to fight and thus remove the essential tool for making war from all governments"; or

(b) that it was partisan in that it sought to abolish those particular weapons of which the USA had a preponderance.

It must be reported in all fairness that the sub-commission took these criticisms very seriously and prolonged its discussions several hours in order, genuinely I believe, to find words which, in broad outline, indicate both the intention of eventual total disarmament and a method of achieving it which would take into account the general security of all nations at each stage.

The final resolution may well prove acceptable to all who are seeking to reduce world tension, though total universal disarmament alone will satisfy pacifists. However, even the pacifist must attempt to envisage the "how" of disarmament; it is not enough that he should be convinced of the "why."

British and Soviet moderation

It is impossible within the compass of this report to record adequately even the general content of the many speeches made at the WPC meeting, but one or two comments may be made.

1. Many speeches were violently critical of the "West" and not least of the USA: none were critical of the "East." It may be that the answer to the criticism, "Why do you not also condemn the 'East' where its practice conflicts with liberty?" is to take opportunities to raise this and other crucial matters ourselves within the WPC movement, at least in conversations with its leaders.

2. Spokesmen from the Far East were unanimously, one might say bitterly, condemnatory of the "West"—the fact that the war is "hot" in S.E. Asia doubtless gives one clue to the reason for this. It also, I believe, sets a challenge to all of us to understand better the deep striving for national independence on the part of the Far Eastern peoples, and to beware of spoiling the value of plans for economic

THE PEACEFUL NATION

IF you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honour, and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the end of the earth; men whose very look and voice carry the sentence of honour and shame; and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as being the asylum of the human race and has the tears and the blessings of mankind.

—From Emerson's *Essay on War*, recently reprinted as a pamphlet by the Peace Pledge Union, price 1s.

help by any kind of political implications. 3. By contrast the most moderate speeches came from British and Western European spokesmen and also from those from the USSR.

4. The Council was not presented with a series of resolutions which it was expected to "rubber-stamp." All decisions were arrived at after long, and sometimes prolonged, discussion. Visitors who were not associated with the WPC, and indeed at least one who was critical, had an equal right to speak and were heard with the same attention that was given to others.

Bridging the East-West gap

In conclusion I would only add that it is evident that the WPC expresses the will of many millions of people. Its decisions will be widely publicised and supported by that part of the world which is led by the Soviet Union.

If the peace movement in the "West" is to help to build a bridge across the tensions of the present conflict, the WPC, representative as it is of political, cultural and religious influences in the "East," is part of the existing material with which that bridge must be built.

We must, at the very least therefore, examine on their merits, all that the WPC says and the resolutions it passes.

The Peace Pledge Union's

LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

WE, the Executive Committee of a British society which was founded to work for peace, would like, if we may, to take you at your word.

We believe that war between our countries today would be a tragedy of the greatest magnitude. All of us are pledged never, under any circumstances, to support or take part in war.

For this reason we think we have something to contribute to a better understanding between us. We would welcome an opportunity to tell the Russian people and administration what exactly we stand for.

In 1934, when the threat of renewed war was becoming increasingly obvious, an English clergyman who had been an Army Chaplain in the first world war, Canon "Dick" Sheppard, had come to believe that participation in war was incompatible with the Christian religion. He wrote a letter to the national Press in which he appealed to everyone, whatever his political or religious position, who was willing to pledge himself never again to support or sanction war, to send him a postcard.

Though few papers printed the appeal, the response from all over the country was overwhelming.

On a basis of this pledge, of the personal renunciation of war, an organisation came into existence which has worked ever since to unite peace-loving individuals.

Today it has about 15,000 men and women among its members, including many of our writers, artists and musicians whose names will be known to you.

We are not a religious or a political body—our membership is based simply and solely on a willingness to set our names to the pledge 'We renounce war, and we will never support or sanction another.'

Though we write particularly on behalf of pacifists in Britain, the Pacifist Movement is not confined to our country. The PPU is the British Section of the War Resisters' International, which unites pacifists all over the world.

There are 84 National Sections or contacts, in cluding the War Resisters' League in America and sections in Japan, India, Germany, and most other European countries.

There is a good deal in the idea of such a movement which springs directly from English history, and from conceptions which have grown up in Britain. We have often had difficulty in justifying our stand, and the form of our protest against war, to friends in other countries.

British pacifist thought has been much influenced by the Quakers, who have always, upon grounds of religion, rejected war without qualification, and by the belief

that the State has no right to demand of the individual that he should take human life.

It should be emphasised that our protest against war, and our refusal to take part in it, are not limited to the present situation or to the possibility of conflict between Communist and Capitalist powers. While utterly condemning Fascism and Nazism, and the barbarities committed in their name, our members refused combatant duties in the Second World War.

We realise how difficult it must be for those who suffered, as your country suffered, to understand this attitude. It is more than likely that many among our members, if they had witnessed in this country the worst of the barbarities which were inflicted on the Russian or the Jewish peoples, would have felt themselves obliged to resist by force, and many sincere pacifists did in fact take up that position.

Yet however fully we can enter into the feelings of those who did fight, and who felt with Vera Inber that Tolstoy himself would have fought against Hitler, the growing barbarity even of the defensive war, and the culminating beastliness of the atomic bomb and the aerial-massacre of German civilians for which our own government, not the Nazis, was responsible, has convinced us that we personally can admit no exception in our condemnation of war.

We do not judge the consciences of others—we only say that war today is an activity in which we cannot and will not participate.

When we read the accusations which each side has levelled at the other of the commission of atrocities in the Korean war, we can only reassert that it is war which is the supreme atrocity, and we can no more countenance it than we will countenance more limited atrocities such as rape and murder.

Only a fool would attempt to minimise the divergencies and the fears which exist between our countries—only a fool, we submit, would believe that war between us would heal those divergencies, remedy injustices in our country or yours, liberate anyone from anything, or benefit any section of mankind. Such a war would destroy us both—our country more certainly than yours, for it is smaller and more vulnerable.

The policy of "negotiation from strength," which has been advocated by those in the West who quite honestly fear that your intentions may be aggressive, seems to us to run the risk of becoming a policy of suicide through stupidity. Atom

bomb diplomacy seems to us an affront to humanity, and the application of so-called collective security in Korea a bloody and disgraceful farce. The place for those who advocate such policies is the mental hospital, not the council chamber.

At the same time, we see plenty in Soviet policy, both foreign and domestic, which we think equally misguided. We feel that we can say this to you, because we are not making our criticisms of you, or of Leninism-Stalinism, into an excuse for threatening you with atomic bombs or sending secret agents to subvert your economy.

Englishmen have a long tradition of saying what they like, both about their own country and its leaders, and about the policies and governments of other countries. This tradition is by no means all humbug, as English governments who have tried to limit such criticisms have repeatedly found.

One of the things which has militated most in this country against friendship with the Soviet Union has been the difference which exists between our conception of civil liberties and yours. That difference may spring from our history, our ideology, our economic systems, or from all of these—we can put it most concretely by saying that we doubt if the Soviet Administration would ever have tolerated an organisation which, like ours, is pledged to defy its national government if need arises.

In many ways your treatment of political dissent and your attitude towards the authority of the state seem to us retrogressive, even allowing for the quantity of ill-informed and malicious propaganda which has been made against you by those who fear or hate Communism.

Having said that, we must also say that our opposition to these things will never lead us to countenance the idea of armed intervention in your affairs, whether in the name of "liberation" or on any other ground.

The only people which has a right to determine the form of Russian society is the Russian people.

The countries which are loudest in their desire to "liberate" the Soviet people from its administration are those which, in our view, are becoming most prone to the kind of abuses they pretend to attack.

Fear is not only the chief cause of international affairs, it is the chief curse of human relationships. We believe, from our personal knowledge of the political leaders concerned, and of our own country, that

(Continued on page seven)

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Letter to the Russian people

(From page six)

fear rather than deliberate warmongering is the driving force of the war preparations in the West.

The Government of the United States, which developed the atomic bomb to frighten its enemies, has succeeded in frightening itself into a most dangerous frame of mind. Your country, to judge from your Press, fears and suspects the intentions of the West, and anticipates the outbreak of yet another war of intervention. These fears are not insubstantial, and the longer they continue the greater the risk of their realisation.

Mr. Morrison recently urged the Soviet Government to overcome its fears of espionage and hostile propaganda and open its frontiers to all comers; he then proceeded to make nonsense of his suggestion by banning the movement of the people he feared might help in making Communist propaganda.

This is the sort of thing that fear leads to.

It seems to us that the level of fear in a nation today bears a close relation to the level of its armaments. We have repeatedly urged our Government not merely to reduce the level of its armaments but to disarm totally and unilaterally, regardless of the intentions of other Powers. We have not said this because we are simpletons, ignorant of the realities of politics, or because we believe God and his angels will defend us, but because unless someone is willing to break out of it, the present competition in fear will destroy us, and because the realities of modern war seem to us to make nonsense, for this country, of the defence which arms are supposed to be going to offer us.

(To be concluded next week)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CO's in Russia

From Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS.

I DID make a special point, while in the Soviet Union, of enquiring about the practice with regard to conscientious objectors, and the information I was given by an ex-service man and by the Baptist ministers agreed with that previously given to me by Mr. Korneichuk, Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet.

It was, as Eden Peacock writes, that there is provision for objection on religious grounds, but that there are, indeed, very few objectors. At the same time there are a considerable number of categories of workers who are automatically exempted from military training although they may be called up as specialists in wartime (teachers, stakhanovites, university students and others).

It may well be that their practice is indeed different from their regulations, but Mr. Korneichuk explained that conscientious objection could be regarded as covered by article 124 of the Constitution of the USSR, which refers to the citizen's right to "freedom of conscience," in spite of articles 132 and 133, which refer to the duty of universal military service and the defence of the country.

My informants were all quite sure that a genuine religion objection was respected. I don't think that a Russian would see anything at all inconsistent in refusing to make specific legal provision for conscientious objection, and yet exempting the rare objector!

Changing the subject, may I say how my heart sank when I saw that one of my more foolish sentences had had four words added to it and had then been elevated to the dignity of an opening remark in the report of my address at the Ealing Town Hall.

I don't use notes and I am usually speaking at the end of a long and tiring day, but I did not mean to imply that we were more intelligent than other visitors from the West to the USSR. What I was emphasising was that the Minister, in spending time and trouble talking to us, did not know who we were or whether we had any influence or not.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE

121 Station Road, West Drayton, Middlesex.

George Lansbury

I AM very glad that the last years of my father's life have been so ably portrayed by Vera Brittain and Stuart Morris in the Nov. 30 Peace News.

The lives of truly great men are the record after all of their pilgrimage through this world of men and women, with its joys and sorrows, its conflicts and its tribulations. The impact of their lives upon the generation in which they lived becomes the history of their generation. Such was my father's life.

The grief of my mother's passing was but the culminating grief of many that he suffered during his life, and that he carried his head so bravely and high until his own passing, through years which must have been filled with a desolation of heart which not one of us left—his family—could assuage, portrays the crowning courage that he expressed during the whole of his life: the service of the working people of his time.

ANNIE LANSBURY

1 Arrowsmith Close, Chigwell, Essex.

Population problem

IN his review of Bertrand Russell's book "New Hopes for a Changing World," John Hoyland says of the author: "His own pet panacea is birth-control

which he apparently believes to be the one known method of checking over-population.

Does John Hoyland know any other method except the out-dated ones of famine and war? His own "pet panacea" is the raising of living standards in India and other backward countries for "over-population... is automatically checked with a rising standard of life." This magic-sounding formula merely means that once people are given a better standard of living and education they begin to use birth-control.

John Hoyland's roundabout way of ensuring that people voluntarily limit their reproductive powers is an excellent principle founded on the history of population trends in countries such as our own. Our rate of increase of population has at last begun to decline but it has taken us approximately 100 years of rising living standards due to industrialisation to reach this point. The first effect of better living standards is always a great increase of population because the infant mortality rate drops and the expectation of life is increased. As the latter in India even fairly recently was about 30 years and the infant mortality rate still very high one can see that the population figures of that country would be astronomical before the desired result was obtained.

Time is against us in this problem. Sixty-eight thousand new mouths to feed every 24 hours present our planet with a short-term choice of world-sponsored birth-control or starvation.

HILDA O'HARE

Hardshaw, Brookfield, Wigton, Cumberland.

Conference postscript

INTERNATIONAL conferences are often marred by dissension until the purpose of the meeting is forgotten; but this was not so at the recent triennial conference of the War Resisters' International at Brunswick, Germany, which I was privileged to attend.

Nationality, language, and diverging views on life and creed, usually insurmountable obstacles between human beings, played no part at all. Everybody was intent on the common purpose of "peace and understanding between the peoples." There was an atmosphere of goodwill and an eagerness to know more about the problems of the various countries—problems that are so easily misused as an excuse for war.

Living on the "island" of West Berlin, I was particularly alive to this surprising fact. All speakers, viewing the subject from different aspects, emphasised that peace must be firmly established on moral grounds before the nations could enjoy a feeling of security.

We women of Berlin have seen enough of "active service" and the aftermath of war. We want to meet our friends on the other side of the frontier in a friendly spirit.

M.G.I.

Berlin.

Nehru and Gandhi

WHILE agreeing with much of Wilfred Wellock's article on Nehru printed in your issue of Nov. 23, I feel that the statement "in spirit he (Nehru) is a Gandhian" is misleading, for it may arouse a hope of India's future under his leadership which is all too likely to prove unfounded—simply because his is not the Way of Gandhi.

The two pillars of Gandhi's gospel were Ahimsa (Non-violence) and Bramacharya (Chastity). Nehru has renounced the first in practice and is said to be shocked by Gandhi's teachings on sex, so that instead of advocating Bramacharya as a corrective to the appalling state of over-population, as Gandhi did, all he suggests is materialistic birth-control as distinct

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from self-control. Therefore his policy merely opposes a lesser materialism to a greater. Total Materialism can only be overcome by Total Spirituality, and that was Gandhi's prescription for all mankind.

In saying that Gandhi's principle of non-violence demands a spiritual giant like Gandhi to apply it, Nehru is making the same fatal mistake as the Christian Church did when it made Jesus a God instead of someone to be emulated. Gandhi, like Jesus Christ, demanded that all men should aim at being spiritual giants, so taking the next step in evolution that we have been resisting for 2,000 years.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON

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1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, December 15

GLOUCESTER: 3.30 p.m. Unitarian Ch. Room (opposite Co-op building), Barton St. "The Fundamentals of Peace": J. Allen Skinner (Editor of Peace News). Tea to follow, with a "Bring a book, Buy a book sale" in aid of group funds: PPU, For.

Sunday, December 16

BRIGHTON: 3.30 p.m. Shirleydean, Rodmell Ave, Saltdean: Committee mtg: PPU.
CHELTENHAM: 6.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho: Reginald Reynolds: Friends Peace Committee.

Monday, December 17

GREENWICH: 8 p.m. Greenwich Methodist Guild, Central Hall, South St. S.E.10: "What Christians are doing for Peace": Rev. Clifford Macquaire: For.
HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Hampstead Town Hall: "The Quaker Mission to Moscow": Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS: Chair: W. Harvey Moore, KC: SoF.

Wednesday, December 19

BRISTOL: 20 Glenwood Rd, Henleaze: Christmas mtg and "bring and buy": Central PPU.

WORTHING: 7.15 p.m. Court Room, Stoke Abbott Rd: "Crisis in the Far East": Sir John Pratt: PPU.

Thursday, December 20

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd: Annual General Mtg: PPU. LONDON, N.4: 8 p.m. 3 Blackstock Rd: Social: North London Peace Centre. LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air Mtg: Robert Horniman: PPU.

Thursday, December 27

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd: Members "let loose" night: PPU.

Saturday, December 29

LEYTONSTONE: Friends Mtg Ho: Christmas party: Particulars from Moira Clark, 38 Woodside Park Ave, E.17.

Wednesday, January 2

SOUTHEAST: New Year Social: All PPU members invited: PPU.

Friday, January 4

ST. ALBANS: 6.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Upper Lattimore Rd: New Year Party for boys of the Lonsford Rd. Hostel: For.

Saturday, January 5

ELTHAM: 7.30 p.m. Progress Hall: Mock Tribunal: PPU.

Sunday, January 6

SHENFIELD: 3 p.m. Scouts: Hut, Tabor's Corner: "The Quakers and Peace": Reginald Reynolds: Friends Peace Committee.

Wednesday, January 9

NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho: "One World": John Hoyland: For.

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MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath, Every Tuesday. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.
WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4). VOLUNTARY WORKERS needed for practical work with Stepney Pacifist Service Unit, Mary Hughes House, 71 Valence Rd. E.1. BISHOPSGATE 9343.

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Can Christians unite in condemning war?

By Stuart Morris

General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union

Under the auspices of Christian Action a conference was held at Elfrinstead, Haywards Heath, over the weekend Dec. 7-10. The purpose of the conference was to enable Christian pacifists to meet Christians who do not accept the pacifist position for a frank exchange of views in fellowship, and for the consideration of what action they could take together in spite of differences. Invitations had been sent to some 40 pacifists and some 40 non-pacifists.

THE conference opened with a plenary session at which Leslie Paul, speaking from the non-pacifist point of view, outlined the growth of the war method, claiming that society had now become self-militarising, due to the fact that it was part of pluralist civilisation.

Such a society had to be a "defensible society." War stemmed out of the contemporary process, and their peacemaking had to be in reference to that historical process.

Until that process could be put into reverse Christians had an obligation to take their part in the defence of the community.

"We must deal with the problem"

Canon Edward Carpenter spoke as a Christian pacifist who believed that there was entrusted to Christians not only an insight into the purpose of God, but the power

to deal with any situation in line with that purpose.

It was not enough to be aware of the problem. They were committed to deal with it in terms of creative living. If they were to avoid frustration, their action must be purposeful.

The division between pacifists and non-pacifists though serious did not preclude collective action. Could not all Christians unite in condemning total war?

The pacifist was the wholesome corrective to those who believed in total war, and the non-pacifist to those whose pacifism was escapist and non-co-operative. All could help create conditions more favourable to peace.

They could avoid the disastrous division in terms of "Christ or Communism?"

They could assert that the Christian faith involved a stand for justice which, to them, was the desire to do the will of God;

They could create a climate of Christian opinion which would be prepared for any sacrifice involved in bringing to undeveloped countries the economic benefits due to them;

They could insist on the need of persistent negotiation; and

They could keep before people the fact that peace was a positive enterprise to be seen in terms of creative values.

On Saturday the conference divided into five groups, each of which subsequently reported its findings to a plenary session on Sunday morning. The conference concluded with two further plenary sessions for general discussion on the reports and on what common action could be taken.

To meet again.

A meeting of the group leaders and rapporteurs is to take place at Dick Sheppard House on Dec. 21 under the chairmanship of Canon Collins (to whose leadership the whole conference was greatly indebted) to:

- (i) collate the group reports;
- (ii) consider the possibility of issuing a statement based on them; and
- (iii) recommend to the Council of Christian Action what further steps could be taken to implement any agreement arrived at, and to plan further conferences of a similar kind.

There was general agreement that the conference had been well worthwhile, and that in the spirit of real fellowship pacifists and non-pacifists had gained a better understanding of their respective positions, which certainly justified further attempts to discuss together what were recognised to be fundamental differences, while at the same time they could increase their fellowship and understanding through such corporate action as might be immediately possible.

PRISON AND MILITARISM

To the Editor

IN the Juvenile Prison in Berlin I had a conversation with a dozen young men aged about 24 years, who had all been in the fighting forces during the last war.

I asked them whether discipline was more rigid in the army or in prison. The answer was unanimous—"We should never dare to speak to the sergeant the way we speak to the warders here!"

Then one of them remarked: "If there was another war, I know what I should do. It is dangerous to resist the military authorities—you might get shot. There is an easier way. I should immediately commit a theft and get sent here. There is not much less liberty here than in the Army, and besides you are safe here."

Safe, yes—except for the bombs which might fall even there!

This little conversation shows where our civilisation really stands—a man would rather be a criminal than a soldier. This is where the demoralisation of war has brought us.

And yet—is it really so immoral? Should a man be called a criminal because he prefers to commit a small crime, rather than take part in the worst of all crimes—war—by throwing bombs on innocent people?

HEINZ KRASCHUTSKI
Hohenzollernstr. 27,
Berlin-Wannsee, Germany.

"No votes for war"

The Peace Pledge Union's "No Votes for War" ad hoc committee met on Nov. 15, to report and to compare election experiences. An account of its findings will be published in the PPU Journal shortly.

'GO HOME, ADENAUER!'

Facts behind the demonstrations

A German contribution of great size and strength will stand alongside the British and U.S. armies in a common defensive front. That, after all, is what really matters to the life or death of the free world.

—Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister, Dec. 7, 1951

No State in Europe can today defend itself alone against the East. A European Army will be a convincing and powerful expression of the sense of joint responsibility for our common Western heritage.

—Dr. Adenauer, at Foreign Press Association, Dec. 7, 1951

Extra police were sent to Piccadilly Circus when anti-Adenauer demonstrators distributed leaflets, shouting: "Go home, Adenauer."

—Daily Telegraph, Dec. 8, 1951

THOSE who recently demonstrated against the German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer when he came on a visit to this country, were, it is to be supposed, merely using the occasion to make a gesture of protest against the re-arming of Germany.

The fact is that Dr. Adenauer is the representative of a defeated country, whose people are still living under the military occupation of their conquerors. It is scarcely their fault that the victors have quarrelled and are squaring up to each other over the prostrate body of the vanquished enemy.

No doubt Dr. Adenauer came here at the invitation of the British Foreign Office, and it is unlikely that, even if he had wanted to do so, he could have refused. The fact that his visit has been acclaimed by the British press as "memorable" and "marking the start of a new era in Anglo-German relations," when it co-incides so obviously with the decision to re-arm Germany would be funny in view of the Teheran agreement, recounted in Mr. Churchill's Memoirs, that Germany should be kept disarmed for 50 years, if it were not so tragic.

The lives lost, the lands laid waste, the millions of people homeless and "displaced" which were the sacrifices demanded for the defeat of German militarism and fascism, are mocked and derided by the statement that Germany must be armed in order to save the "free world."

"To save the free world," was Mr. Churchill's war-cry from 1940 onwards; it rallied to his support nations and peoples

of widely differing policies and principles, and it seems likely that it will do so again. This time the enemy is a different one, and the late enemy must be wooed, and flattered, and reassured by offers of friendship, and an equal place in "the comity of free nations."

If this gesture of reconciliation had been freely made without the fatal accompaniment of armaments; if wise councils had prevailed and Britons and Germans had sought to be comrades in a new and peaceful society instead of "comrades in arms," Dr. Adenauer's visit could indeed have been an occasion for rejoicing.

But to demonstrate against him, and demand that he "go home," is to miss the point entirely; it is the reason for the invitation to him that matters, not his presence here, and it is the British Foreign Office that is responsible for that, and whose policy should be arraigned.

Mr. Churchill is indignant that he has been called a "war-monger," but that is, after all, only a word describing the activities of those who make wars, and whatever nice word he, or the late Government, America, or Russia, may like to apply to the policy of immense armaments, to ordinary people all over the world it looks uncommonly like war-making and not at all like peace making.

The call "Go Home!" should ring out for Z-men, for American atom-bombers, for conscripted armies and navies all over the world, for munition workers, and atom-bomb makers. It is illogical and senseless to shout against the arming of Germany before shouting against the arming of Britain. Let us, at whatever sacrifice that may be necessary, set our own house in order first.

Who invented the

IRON CURTAIN?

NO, it was not Winston Churchill. He got it from Dr. Josef Goebbels who wrote in *Das Reich* in February 1945,

"If the German people lay down their arms the whole of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, together with the Reich, will come under Russian occupation. Behind an Iron Curtain mass butcheries of peoples would begin..."

How many of us, sincerely opposed to the ideas of Dr. Goebbels have yet allowed one of his ideas to sink into our minds?

Is there really a curtain between us and the Soviet people?

Of course not! The recent Quaker Mission proved that.

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